Notes

Introduction


2. The phrase ‘language of nature’ is used by Peter Hanns Reill in his *Vitalizing Nature in the Enlightenment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); see also Ludmilla Jordanova, ed., *Languages of Nature: Critical Essays on Science and Literature* (London: Free Association, 1986). The term ‘science’, which did not gain its current meaning until the nineteenth century, is used anachronistically throughout this book to refer to the wide and various range of natural philosophical and experimental researches and activities which we now understand as scientific in the modern sense.


5. For these and other examples, see the *OED*. For *The Ladies Dispensatory*, see Vivien Jones, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 83.


13. Innumerable physicians in this period had links to Edinburgh. These include Erasmus Darwin, Thomas Beddoes and John Brown, whose ‘Brunonian’ medicine, based on the theory of bodily excitability, was widely adopted in Germany and used as a basis for Romantic medicine. See Christopher Lawrence, ‘The Power and the Glory: Humphry Davy and Romanticism’, in Romanticism and the Sciences, ed. Andrew Cunningham and Nicholas Jardine (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 213–27 (p. 215). William Hunter, brother of the eminent physiologist John Hunter, and a leading anatomist and physician in his own right, was also an early pupil and lifelong correspondent of Cullen.


18. Ruston, *Shelley and Vitality*, p. 23. Haller introduced the terms ‘sensibility’ and ‘irritability’ to mid-eighteenth-century anatomy: see Andrew Cunningham, ‘The Pen and the Sword: Recovering the Disciplinary Identity of Physiology and Anatomy before 1800. II: Old Anatomy – the Sword’, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences*, 34 (2003), 51–76 (p. 66). Central to the debate between Whytt and Haller was the former’s contention that the irritability of living tissue derived from a living principle within it. Haller preferred to explain muscular action by what Shirley Roe has described as ‘animal mechanics’. Roe, ‘Life Sciences’, p. 403.


31. On Willis, see Andrew Cunningham, ‘Old Anatomy’, pp. 64–5.
40. Locke, whom he encouraged his medical students to read, was a valued authority for Cullen. See Donovan, *Philosophical Chemistry*, p. 42.

1 Forms of Enlightenment: Embodied Beings in Eighteenth-Century Scotland

2. Christopher Fox discusses Scriblerian satire and its philosophical targets in *Locke and the Scriblerians*.


28. Thomas Blacklock, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Glasgow, 1746), p. 26. There are minor changes to this poem in Blacklock’s later collections of 1754 and 1793.

29. Blacklock, *Poems on Several Occasions* (Edinburgh, 1754), pp. 141–55 (pp. 144–5). This poem is not included in the 1746 collection.


2 Generating Sympathy: Sensibility, Animation and Vitality in Adam Smith and Mary Wollstonecraft


3. *Mary, A Fiction*, in *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, ed. Todd and Butler, vol. 1, p. 7. Lady Kingsborough, Wollstonecraft’s employer whilst she worked as a governess in Ireland, is frequently identified as the source for these women. For Claudia Johnson’s observation that Eliza is both ‘hypercorporeal … unanimated by higher faculties of mind or spirit’ and ‘hypocorporeal’, see her *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 51.


17. On medicalised sensibility, see especially Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability*.
22. Such ‘spectral’ effects of the sympathetic imagination may explain the fertile connections between sentimental and gothic literature.
34. *TMS*, p. 83.


44. Wollstonecraft, Short Residence, p. 245.
45. Wollstonecraft, Short Residence, p. 248.
47. Wollstonecraft, Short Residence, p. 246.
48. Wollstonecraft, Short Residence, p. 279.
49. Wollstonecraft, Short Residence, p. 262.

3 Labouring Bodies in Political Economy: Vitalist Physiology and the Body Politic

2. WN, p. 22.
3. WN, p. 23.
4. WN, pp. 47, 117.
5. WN, p. 100. Ramazzini's Treatise was published in English in London in 1705.
6. WN, pp. 117, 126.
7. WN, pp. 98, 93.
8. WN, p. 21.
10. For Mary Poovey, political economy’s production of ‘knowledge’ as a combination of the specific and particular with the general and abstract makes it characteristic of what she identifies as ‘the modern fact’. See her A History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society (University of Chicago Press, 1998).
16. My argument on Hume here has also appeared in my journal article, ‘Feigning Fictions’.
21. Hume, Essays, p. 271. Smith’s early Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres echo Hume’s analysis here by similarly suggesting that, in modern commercial society, work and pleasure are mixed, in contrast with the sharp division between work and pleasure in early societies. However, the Wealth of Nations offers a different account of work, with its recognition on the tedium and mental atrophy brought about by repetitive, unvaried work. See WN, pp. 781–2.
24. See Barfoot, ‘Hume and the Culture of Science’.
26. WN, p. 100.
27. WN, pp. 341, 99.
28. WN, p. 341. See also pp. 540 and 674.
29. Locke, Essay, p. 280; Furniss, Edmund Burke’s Aesthetic Ideology, p. 54.
32. Hume, Letters, ed. Greig, vol. I, Letter 3, March or April 1734, pp. 12–18. The letter may never have been sent, and its intended recipient is the subject of some conjecture. Greig follows John Hill Burton, author of The Life and Correspondence of David Hume, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1846), in seeing it as addressed to George Cheyne; however, Ernest Mossner suggests that the addressee was John Arbuthnot. See Ernest Campbell Mossner, ‘Hume’s Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, 1734: The Biographical Significance’, Huntington Library Quarterly, 7 (1944), 135–52.
33. Hume, Treatise, pp. 268–9, 264.
34. Furniss, Edmund Burke’s Aesthetic Ideology, p. 43.
38. WN, p. 108.
40. WN, pp. 466–7.
41. WN, p. 472.
42. WN, p. 496.
43. WN, p. 343.
44. WN, pp. 673–4, 343.
46. Smith, *Correspondence*, no. 51, p. 69.
50. On the specificity of Edinburgh medicine see Lawrence, ‘Nervous System and Society’.

4 Enlightenment Legacies and Cultural Radicalism: Physiology and Politics in the 1790s

14. The strong effects produced by such a mixing of different passions had been described by Hume.
27. Barrell, *Imagining the King’s Death*, p. 4.
34. For Humphry Davy, see Richardson, *British Romanticism*, p. 52.
38. See Jon Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation* (Oxford University Press, 2003), Paul Keen, *The Crisis of Literature in the 1790s* (Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Andrew McCann, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s* (London: Macmillan, 1999). James Allard’s ‘John Thelwall and the Politics of Medicine’, *European Romantic Review*, 15:1 (2004), 73–87 is rare in exploring the inflection of Thelwall’s physiological learning on his politics. The distinction between Thelwall’s speech and writings is of course a porous one, given that much of Thelwall’s published work was previously delivered in lecture-form. Given that we only have access to his lectures in their published form, they will be discussed under the term ‘writings’ for the remainder of the chapter.
43. McCann, *Cultural Politics in the 1790s*, pp. 83–106 (p. 84).
45. John Thelwall, ‘King Chaunticlere, or, The Fate of Tyranny’, *Politics for the People*, 8 (1794), 102–7 (p. 103).

47. Thelwall, Political Lectures I, p. viii.
48. Thelwall, ‘King Chaunticleere’, p. 102.
49. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 10, 11–12.
50. For Galvani, see Wylie, Young Coleridge, p. 133.
51. For Thelwall’s letter to his wife, see Thompson, Working Class, p. 141. The Tribune, vol. 3, no. XLVII, Friday 6 November 1795, p. 265.
54. Thelwall, Political Lectures I, pp. 11, 40.
57. Burke, First Letter on a Regicide Peace, pp. 224, 206, 225. Compare Burke, Letter to a Noble Lord, where the people are seen as in need of protection from their ‘wild and inconsiderate’ desires (in The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke, vol. 9, ed. McDowell, p. 155).
59. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 111–12.
60. Thelwall, Rights of Nature, p. 3.
64. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, p. 81.
70. The Tribune, vol. 3, no. XXXIV, 9 October 1795, p. 36.
72. Smith, Politics of Language, p. x.
73. Scrivener, Seditious Allegories.
74. Scrivener, Seditious Allegories, p. 10. Compare Philp, ‘Fragmented Ideology’, p. 69, on the ‘innovative character of radical writing in this period’.
75. For attacks on innuendo, see Thelwall, Political Lectures II, p. 1, and Thelwall, Natural and Constitutional Right, p. 21.
76. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 1, 60–1; Thelwall, Rights of Nature, p. 53.
77. The Tribune, vol. 2, no. XVI, 29 April 1795, pp. 2–3, and vol. 3, no. XXXIV, 9 October 1795, p. 17.
78. Smith, Politics of Language, p. 87.
79. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 5–6.
81. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 21–32.
82. Thelwall, Sober Reflections, pp. 30, 43.
83. Michael Scrivener’s phrase, ‘hermeneutic aggression’, is a useful one in this context. Scrivener, Seditions Allegories, p. 43.
85. John Thelwall, Poems Written in Close Confinement (London, 1795). See especially Ode II.
86. Packham, ‘Physiology of Political Economy’.
87. See Thelwall, Political Lectures II.
89. Keen, Crisis of Literature in the 1790s, p. 146; Smith, Politics of Language, p. 36.


8. Advertisement, The Loves of the Plants. Parts of the argument in this section are drawn from my article, ‘The Science and Poetry of Animation’.
10. Erasmus Darwin, Zoonomia; or, the Laws of Organic Life, 2 vols (London, 1794–96), vol. 1, pp. 1–2; emphasis as in the original.
14. For Thomas Brown’s more informed accusation of Darwin’s materialism, see Richardson, British Romanticism, p. 15. Richardson’s helpful account of Darwin differs from that given here in its primary focus on his brain theory.
15. Richardson, British Romanticism, pp. 29–30, 69, 192 n. 58.
24. Quarterly Review, 12 (1814), pp. 60–90 (p. 71); Review of 'Collected Works of the Late Dr. Sayers', Quarterly Review, 35 (1827), pp. 175–220 (pp. 198–9). I am grateful to Professor David Fairer for drawing my attention to these references.
34. According to Philip Connell, an established opposition between 'literature, aesthetics, and feeling, on the one hand; and science, utility and reason' was to become intransigent by the late 1820s. See Romanticism, Economics and the Question of 'Culture', p. 11. For the argument that Wordsworth's 'Preface' was a response to the claims made for science by Humphry Davy in his Royal Institution Lectures, see Roger Sharrock, 'The Chemist and the Poet; Sir Humphry Davy and the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads', Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, 17 (1962), pp. 57–76.
35. Christopher Lawrence offers a rather different reading of Wordsworth in 'The Power and the Glory'.
40. See the *British Critic*, 23 (February 1804), 169–74.
49. For French chemists’ participation in revolutionary activities, such as the collection of saltpetre for gunpowder, as well as Burke’s influential hostility to chemistry, see Maurice Crosland, ‘The Image of Science as a Threat: Burke versus Priestley and the “Philosophic Revolution”’, *British Journal for the History of Science*, 20 (1987), 277–307 (pp. 285–7).
52. Although mostly by Canning, some lines of *New Morality* are attributed to his collaborator, George Ellis.
55. *New Morality*, ll. 224, 52–3, 451–2, 434.
56. For more discussion of Darwin’s influence on Coleridge and others, including evidence for links between *Zoonomia* and Wordsworth’s *Lyrical Ballads*, see King-Hele, *Erasmus Darwin*.
59. See Keen, *Crisis of Literature in the 1790s*.
60. See Scrivener, *Seditious Allegories*. The fable of Chaunticlere, discussed in the previous chapter, is one example of a more complex Jacobin text.
64. See *The Tribune*, vol. 1, p. 91.
65. Thelwall’s earlier publication, *The Peripatetic*, rooted in accounts of his wanderings around London and its immediate environs, is one example of his ability to make telling political use of even the most mundane of his experiences.

6 Animation and Vitality in Women’s Writing of the 1790s

2. Wollstonecraft, *Mary*, p. 46. Mary is here quoting Edward Young’s *Night Thoughts*.
6. See Shelley’s Introduction to the 1831 *Frankenstein* for the full account.
8. For the Abernethy/Lawrence debate, see Ruston, *Shelley and Vitality*, and Butler’s edition of *Frankenstein*, Appendix C.
25. For the limitations of such an approach, see Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*, pp. 10ff.
32. Fenwick, *Secresy*, p. 43.
33. Fenwick, *Secresy*, p. 76.
34. Fenwick, *Secresy*, p. 64.
47. Wollstonecraft, *Mary*, p. 46.
52. Wollstonecraft, *Mary*, p. 46. The quotation is from Edward Young’s *Night Thoughts*, the italics are as in the original.
Conclusion: Eighteenth-Century Vitalism, Romanticism, Literature and the Disciplines

1. David Fairer’s *Organising Poetry: The Coleridge Circle, 1790–1798* (Oxford University Press, 2009) also challenges an outmoded opposition of eighteenth-century mechanism and Romantic organicism – an opposition which, as Fairer points out, goes back to M. H. Abrams’ *The Mirror and The Lamp*. Fairer argues that eighteenth-century thinking in a number of areas, from personal identity to history to poetic tradition, could arguably be described as ‘organic’, and what he characterises as an ‘eighteenth-century organic’ needs to be understood on its own terms, distinct from the Romantic organic of, for instance, the mature Coleridge. See also Stephen Gaukroger, *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Sensibility: Science and the Shaping of Modernity 1680–1760* (Oxford University Press, 2010).


4. Terry Eagleton’s *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990) is an obvious theoretical landmark here, but for representative work in the Romantic
period see, for instance, Nigel Leask, *The Politics of Imagination in Coleridge’s Critical Thought* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), or Ellis, *The Politics of Sensibility*. For further discussion of this point, see the opening section of my ‘Feigning Fictions’.


18. In her survey of evidence for demarcating the ‘Romantic century’, for instance, Susan Wolfson pays little attention to scientific thought.

19. Patricia Spacks also singles out the 1790s for special consideration in debates over periodisation in literary history, though her particular concern is with the novel. See Patricia M. Spacks, ‘How We See: The 1790s’, in *Enlightening Romanticism, Romancing Enlightenment*, ed. Miriam L. Wallace (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 179–88.


22. Poovey, ‘Model System’, pp. 419ff. Coleridge’s organicism is also central to Fairer and Armstrong’s studies.
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